

UNITAMS therefore lacks UNAMID's Chapter VII authorities to deploy military tools in service of civilian protection and the advancement of peace in Darfur. Officials in the transitional government at the highest levels have argued that a Chapter VII mission is not necessary because the security situation in Darfur has improved; that many of the warring parties in Darfur have made peace with the Government of Sudan through the Juba Peace Agreement; that Bashir's genocidal regime, which bore primary responsibility for the crisis in the region, is no longer in power; and that the transitional government is implementing a security plan for Darfur that will adequately protect civilians.

I do not share this assessment of the situation in Darfur, and recent clashes, as well as earlier rounds of violence that have plagued Darfur since Sudan's transition began in 2019, demonstrate that the region remains fragile. Communal tensions over land, water, and political power persist, and Darfur is awash in weapons. The government's program to provide security to the region, including through its National Plan for Civilian Protection, has yet to be adequately fleshed out let alone implemented. Just last week, the UNAMID team site at Saraf Umrah that was transferred to the Sudanese Government on January 21 was looted by unnamed assailants, and all of the buildings on the site were reportedly destroyed despite the government's prior commitment to secure it. The Juba Peace Agreement, while promising, has not been endorsed by all of Darfur's warring parties. And most worryingly, those likely to be charged with protecting civilians in Darfur, including components of the Sudanese military and the Rapid Support Forces, RSF, of Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, are the same actors that for years worked to implement Bashir's campaign of terror and genocide in the region.

In this context, the United Nations Security Council's ill-timed and poorly-conceived decision to end UNAMID's mandate—facilitated by the Trump administration's lack of a well-thought-out diplomatic strategy and approach—and to rapidly draw down the mission exposes the Darfuri people to significant harm. It could derail Sudan's civilian-led transition to democracy, resulting in another round of instability that Sudan and the broader region can ill afford. That is why in February 2020 I led a group of Senators in writing to the Trump administration, urging it to ensure that the U.N. maintain a mission in Darfur with an adequate number of peacekeeping troops operating under a robust Chapter VII mandate to protect civilians from violence; and that is why I am raising the alarm again here today. The United States, along with its international partners, must work rapidly to put in place mechanisms that can protect Darfur's civilians until such a time that Sudan's transitional government is capable of providing security to the region.

Fortunately, the plight of Darfur has long attracted the bipartisan support of Congress and multiple administrations. At this critical time, it is vital that our commitment remain steadfast. I hope to work with the Biden administration to urgently address the security vacuum created by UNAMID's drawdown and call upon Secretary of State Blinken and United Nations Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield to take urgent steps.

First, we must use our voice and vote at the UNSC to encourage a temporary reauthorization of UNAMID so that it can carry out critical protection of civilian functions, at the very least until it fully draws down in June 2021. Second, we must work actively at the UNSC to strengthen the mandate of the UNITAMS so that it includes robust civilian protection mechanisms. Third, we should press Sudan's civilian-led transitional government to develop a credible civilian protection plan in Darfur that does not—I repeat, does not—involve the RSF or any other forces implicated in violence in Darfur. Fourth, the administration should carefully monitor progress on civilian protection in Darfur and provide support where necessary, including by considering how much of the recently appropriated \$700 million for Sudan needs to be set aside to support civilian security in Darfur. Fifth, we must make clear to all that sustainable peace in Darfur requires justice and accountability for past atrocities, no matter how powerful the people implicated.

Mr. President, I strongly support a closer bilateral relationship with Sudan and will continue, as I have for the past 2 years, to do what I can to ensure the United States does its part to see to it that Sudan's civilian-led transition to democracy is successful. We have what may be a once in a generation opportunity. A healthy political transition at the national level will only aid the cause of peace in Darfur, and vice versa.

Mr. President, the situation in Darfur requires our urgent and considered attention. Let us continue our strong tradition of bipartisan support for the long-suffering people of Sudan at this critical time.

IMPEACHMENT

Mr. ROMNEY. Mr. President, once again, I have listened to the arguments of the respective counsel, studied briefs, and weighed evidence in an impeachment trial of President Donald Trump. This is not a responsibility I sought or expected. I certainly did not anticipate having to serve a second time as a Senator-juror in an impeachment trial.

An initial question shaping the context of this trial was whether or not the Senate has constitutional jurisdiction to try a President who is no longer in office. The Constitution gives the Senate the power to try all impeachments. In this case, where the House

impeached the President while he was in office, it is particularly clear that the impeachment is constitutional and therefore that this trial is constitutional. The weight of legal opinion and historical precedent affirms this conclusion. Further, the Senate decided this question in the affirmative. I believe its decision was correct: The Senate must not surrender its power to hold accountable those who abuse their office or threaten our Republic, even in their final days in office.

In following the oath in an impeachment trial and in our deliberations on the final question, I believe it is up to every Senator to determine what to consider and what the Constitution and their conscience require of them. The conclusion I reached on the final verdict will not surprise anyone who read my reasoning in the first impeachment trial: I consider an attempt to corrupt an election to keep oneself in power one of the most reprehensible acts that can be taken by a sitting President. The second impeachment resulted from the President's continued effort to do just that.

His attempt to pressure Georgia's secretary of state to falsify the electoral results was itself a heinous act that merited impeachment. President Trump summoned his supporters to Washington on the very day of the electoral vote count, knowing that among the people he gathered were many who had committed violence in the past and who had violent intent. Despite the obvious and well-known threat of violence, he incited and directed thousands to descend upon the seat of Congress as it was undertaking the constitutionally prescribed process to certify his successor. And then he not only failed to defend the Vice President and the others at the Capitol who he saw were in mortal danger, he also incited further violence against the Vice President.

The President's conduct represented an unprecedented violation of his oath of office and of the public trust.

There is a thin line that separates our democratic republic from an autocracy: It is a free and fair election and the peaceful transfer of power that follows it. President Trump attempted to breach that line, again. What he attempted is what was most feared by the Founders. It is the reason they invested Congress with the power to impeach.

Accordingly, I voted to convict President Trump.

We must also consider how we came to a point where a President felt he could do as he did without suffering meaningful consequence.

It has become almost cliché to say that America is divided as never before in modern history. So, too, is the observation that this division is the product of a decline in trust in our governing institutions, of a decline in the social bonds forged in churches and charities and communities, of expanding income inequality, and of trusted

news sources replaced by cable and internet algorithms calculated to inflame our prejudices.

Less unanimous are the predictions of where this division will lead. Even so, no one suggests that it will lead to a better future. Some envision an economy buffeted by policies drafted by the extreme wings of the political parties. Others claim that authoritarianism will replace democracy. Some anticipate social unrest and violence. A few even predict civil war. Still others fear that a weakened America will become vulnerable to an opportunistic foreign foe.

We instinctively know that the growing division represents a growing danger. Academics and pundits may promote cures, but in our hearts, we know that their bromides won't heal the rift. People aren't going to return to mainstream media, churches aren't going to experience a resurgence, and income inequality will remain a persistent feature of the global digital economy.

Throughout history, only one thing has been able to unite a divided nation: great leaders—leaders like Churchill who inspired a fearful nation; leaders like Lincoln who mustered the national will to save the Union; and leaders like Reagan who raised our spirits from suffocating malaise. Leaders like these also have been essential in our churches and universities and businesses and charities, and just as importantly, in our homes.

With our Nation so divided, so vulnerable to economic distress or to civil violence or even to foreign adversaries, the need for leadership that unites and uplifts, that calls on our better angels, is as great as we have ever known. The corollary is that the failure of leaders to unite, to speak truth, to place duty above self, is as dangerous as we have ever known.

With the country as divided as it assuredly is, a person in a position of leadership who inflames passions with the purpose of perpetuating untruth commits a singularly dangerous sin against the Republic.

We Senator-jurors did not all vote in the same way in this impeachment trial. Differences in perception of the facts that were presented are to be expected. So, too, are the differences in our respective estimations of the impact of the outcome of the trial. People of conscience reached different conclusions. National unity does not require unanimity of opinion.

But civic unity does require truth. There is one untruth that divides the Nation today like none other: it is that the election was stolen, that there was a massive conspiracy, more secret and widespread than any in human history, so brilliant in execution that no evidence can be found of it and no observer among the tens of thousands in our intelligence agencies will speak of it.

That lie brought our Nation to a dark and dangerous place. Invented and disseminated by the President, it poisoned our politics and our public discourse.

Like you, I hear many calls for unity. It is apparent that calling for unity while at the same time appeasing the big lie of a stolen election is a fraud. It is the lie that caused the division. It is in the service of that lie that a mob invaded the Capitol on January 6.

Now that the impeachment trial is behind us, it falls to each of us to affirm what we all know: President Biden won the election through the legitimate vote of the American people. The division in America will only begin to heal in the light of this truth, a truth which must now be affirmed by each of us in this Chamber.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING DR. SEAN MCCAGH

• Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Dr. Sean McCagh, a Marylander whom we should all emulate for his selflessness and passion for helping others. Sean touched the hearts and lives of his family, friends, coworkers, patients, and the entire community of Allegany County in the western part of my State. Sadly, Sean was taken far too soon from his family and the many neighbors who cared so deeply for him due to complications of COVID-19. He leaves behind his wife, Terri, and three sons, Mike, Cory, and Casey.

Sean was born and raised in Cumberland, MD. He graduated from Bishop Walsh High School and completed his undergraduate studies at Mount St. Mary's University. He earned his medical degree from Georgetown University School of Medicine and completed his dermatology residency at the University of West Virginia. He returned to the hometown he loved so well and joined his brother Mike's dermatology practice in 1996.

Sean was a man of vision who was never one to sit idly by. He volunteered his time as the athletic physician for Allegany High School for several years and later established a community fundraiser known as the Hooley Plunge to support the ice rink at the local YMCA. When the YMCA closed the ice rink, Sean redirected his efforts to another cause close to his heart, people with developmental disabilities. With Sean as its champion for 17 years, the Hooley Plunge has raised more than \$1.5 million to support the Special Olympics of Allegany County and other local programs that serve individuals with developmental disabilities. It has become the largest single-day fundraising event in Allegany County, with hundreds of brave souls running into the freezing waters of Rocky Gap State Park's Lake Habeeb in return for donations.

A few years ago, Sean received the Community Service Award from the Allegany County Chamber of Commerce, one of numerous entities to recognize his unwavering commitment to

the greater good. Sean's sister, Erin McCagh Morrissey, has fittingly called him Cumberland's George Bailey, referring to the community-minded banker James Stewart played in the classic movie, "It's a Wonderful Life."

While Sean loved his job as a dermatologist and was passionate about helping others, he also loved being a cattle farmer. When his middle son, Cory, graduated from college, Sean encouraged him to follow his dream to start a brewery. With Cory's vision and Sean's support and investment, they christened the 200-year-old barn on the family's farm as the "1812 Brewery," which set the stage for a growing and mutually supportive family of small brewers to attract tourists and enhance the lives of local residents.

While the people of Allegany County grieve the sudden, stunning loss of a cherished husband, father, friend, doctor, businessman, and community leader, I ask my Senate colleagues to join me in remembering and honoring the life of Dr. Sean McCagh who, through his service and love for people, has left his community a better place.●

TRIBUTE TO BIRGIT KLOHS

• Mr. PETERS. Mr. President, I rise today to honor a lifelong leader of West Michigan's economic development community, Birgit Klohs, president and CEO of The Right Place in Grand Rapids, MI. Ms. Klohs has made an immense impact on western Michigan over the past 33 years and has helped reshape the region and State's future.

Born in West Germany, Ms. Klohs left her home country to attend Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, where she graduated with a bachelors of business administration in finance. While going to school full time, she began her economic development career in service to the Berrien County Economic Development Corporation as an industrial consultant and then eventually moved to the Michigan Department of Commerce where she served as an account executive focusing on western Michigan.

Later, as assistant director of the Office for Economic Expansion at Grand Valley State University, Ms. Klohs was asked to join the region's first-ever European foreign investment mission in conjunction with The Right Place. The Right Place, an organization started in 1985 by Grand Rapids area business executives, was concerned that the region was missing out on economic opportunities. That trip involved discussions with a German company that 2 years later broke ground on a new manufacturing plant just north of Grand Rapids, a highlight in Klohs' career dedicated to keeping and growing jobs in the region.

Mrs. Klohs applied for the directorship of The Right Place and began leading the organization as president and CEO in 1987. At that time, The Right Place had a small staff serving one county; after Ms. Klohs' dynamic leadership and expertise, it grew into a